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ART. V. — *The Library of American Biography*, conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series. Vol. XII. *Life of Edward Preble*, by LORENZO SABINE; *Life of William Penn*, by GEORGE E. ELLIS. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 12mo. pp. 408.

THE volume before us contains Lives of Edward Preble and William Penn. Mr. Sabine, whose minute accuracy and extraordinary extent of information, in several important departments of our national and diplomatic history, have been displayed to the readers of this journal, has collected, with his usual industry and zeal, the particulars of the career of one of our earliest and ablest naval commanders. His account of the operations of the Mediterranean squadron under Commodore Preble, in the years 1803 and 1804, is a valuable and durable contribution to American history. It was then and there that the navy of the United States received, from the genius and spirit of that gallant and resolute, daring and skilful officer, the stamp of heroism and efficiency which has marked it ever since, and which subsequent achievements have but burnished into greater brightness. The following paragraph, from Mr. Sabine's memoir, illustrates the interest and value that belong to Commodore Preble's Mediterranean command.

"It has been remarked, that at the first Preble's officers disliked him; but he had won their affection, and, on his retiring from the command, they, with entire unanimity, presented to him an address expressive of the kindest sentiments. A paper of this description, as from inferiors to an official superior, is, perhaps, seldom proper; but in this case, if we regard the peculiar circumstances under which this superior and these inferiors met and parted, the motive alone may be considered, and thus not only excuse the act itself, but render it one of the most certain proofs which have been preserved of the Commodore's personal and professional merits. This address bears the signatures of no less than fifty-three officers; and if we take into view, that among them were Stewart and Hull, who subsequently gained honorable victories from the deck of his own flagship; Decatur, the vanquisher of the Macedonian; Lawrence, who captured the Peacock, and who with his dying words forbade the surrender of that ill-omened ship, the Chesa-

peake ; McDonough, the victor on Lake Champlain ; Burrows, who fell in the contest with the Boxer ; Chauncey and Morris, and many others, whose names are dear to the nation ; we can estimate the worth of the testimonial. Immured in prison at this time were Bainbridge, who a few years afterwards sunk the *Java* ; and Jones, who captured the *Frolic* ; and Biddle, who closed the series of memorable exploits upon the ocean by sinking the *Penguin*. Thus it happened, that a large proportion of the successful commanders in the war of 1812 acted under Preble's orders. To have had any share in training these officers is of itself an honor." — pp. 160, 161.

The memoir of William Penn is by the Rev. George E. Ellis of Charlestown, Massachusetts. It is well known that Mr. Ellis's researches, abroad and at home, into the literature and history of the Quakers, have given him preëminent advantages as the biographer of the most illustrious name connected with that denomination. His habits as a student and writer assure us, that he entered upon his work with all the materials spread before him which untiring exploration and the most thorough learning could collect. He has used them with the most perfect fairness and candor, from a point of view where no sinister sectarian bias and no local or partisan influence could reach him ; and the result is a biography that may be regarded with confidence, and a narrative of the life and labors of his subject which answers the demands of truth and justice.

The name of William Penn is invested with a celebrity throughout the world, and will be remembered in all coming ages with an interest which will entitle it to be inscribed among the truly great ones of the earth. No list of eminent and distinguished persons, taken from the entire range of human history, could be formed, however select or brief, from which it could properly be left out. Very few have impressed themselves so distinctly upon the universal observation of mankind. The peculiarity of his religious profession, and the auspicious associations connected with the part he bore in laying the foundations of civilization in America, no less, if not more, than any preëminence of genius or virtue, have contributed to render his fame thus extensive and illustrious.

The only thing that has threatened to cause a serious and lasting detraction from his fame, the only accusation that has

made any impression upon the judgment of fair and enlightened minds, arose from his peculiar personal and political relation to the family of Stuarts, during the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second. It was generally thought at the time, and has been thought by many since, that he could not have maintained that relation without a dishonest compromise of his professed principles, and a secret sympathy with those princes in their now ascertained attachment to Popery, and in their alleged design to establish absolute monarchy on the ruins of the British constitution. We would venture the opinion, that the character of Penn will come forth with undiminished brightness from this charge, and that his course will be found to have been more consistent with his principles, and altogether wiser, than that pursued by the other leaders of Dissenting interests at that time.

On the restoration of the Stuarts to the British throne, the most absorbing and intense interest was felt throughout the empire in reference to the effect which that event would produce upon the state and tendency of religion. The Dissenters, of every form, were clamoring for relief from the disabilities to which they were subject. Every sect was eager in its efforts, and in its expectations, to obtain the favor of the court ; and this was one of the causes of that strange burst of universal acclamation with which Charles was welcomed back. Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, all vied with each other in their expressions of congratulation. The government at once proposed a generous and comprehensive toleration, and such an establishment as would open its arms to receive, and with a liberal charity spread its shelter over, Christians of all varieties of creed and worship. Instead of availing themselves of this disposition of the court, the leading Protestant sects conceived the utmost jealousy and suspicion of the motives that led to it, and steadfastly refused to accept the terms that were offered, fearing that it was their design, and would be their effect, to let in Papists, on the one side, and Socinians, as they were called, on the other. This determination of the principal Dissenting bodies has had a decisive, and, we think, a disastrous influence upon the condition and prospects of Christianity to this day. Whatever were the motives of the court, if their terms had been accepted, Popery and

heresy would have stood no better chance for prevalence. In all probability they would have steadily and rapidly declined, and a national church, including within its benignant fold all the varieties of honest and serious profession, and extending to all an impartial protection, would have drawn into its attractive bosom the whole population, and have presented to Christendom a spectacle so beautiful and glorious as to have produced results, for the advancement of truth and piety and the conversion of the world, which may not be reached, as matters now are, for centuries to come.

William Penn, adhering with firm and clear-sighted consistency to his principles, as the head and guardian of the Society of Friends, gave his hearty and constant support to the government, in the issue thus raised. He was willing and ready, as every true Protestant ought to have been, to meet Popery on a level. He believed that Charles and James were honest and fair-minded in their proposals. But whether they were or not, he had full confidence that the truth had nothing to fear from the establishment of the widest comprehension ; and he knew that if the patronage of the government was extended at all to the concerns of religion, it ought to favor and secure the most perfect freedom of conscience and worship. For his course on this question he was abused with the utmost rancor and profligacy. He was denounced as a base courtier, as an enemy of Protestantism, as concealing under the demure exterior and sleek costume of a Quaker the heart of a Papist, as having taken orders at Rome, as a priest in disguise and an emissary from the Pope. His intimacy with the reigning family, inherited from his father, justified and sanctified by a friendship which surmounted every adverse influence, survived all changes, and was extinguished by death alone, and naturally confirmed by his approval of their avowed liberal policy, was looked upon by narrow bigotry and jealousy as conclusive evidence of his connivance with the royal brothers in the designs imputed to them of bringing in Popery and tyranny. Nothing is more liable to sink to the lowest depths of folly and madness than sectarian hate ; and we recognize an illustration of this proposition in the fact, that great and good men were so blinded by the smoke of their prejudices as to charge the champion of the Quakers with corrupt inconsistency because he supported the policy of a government that proposed to remove

from the church all barriers of creed and ceremony ; and to defame, as a Jesuit at heart and in fact, one who, by preaching, and through the press as a voluminous author, and as the lawgiver of a new state, at the cost of honor and ease, in the endurance of imprisonment, fines, and exhausting efforts of toil and travel, was performing a part, before their eyes, and in the open view of the whole world, so utterly opposite and so radically destructive to the pretensions and the foundations of the Roman Catholic Church. The misconceptions and misrepresentations, which, originating in the political and theological excitements and conflicts with which he was connected, for a while and to some extent spread a shadow over his name, have vanished from the scene, and we can now behold him as he was.

And surely it is a striking and most pleasing spectacle that his character and career present to our view. It was an interesting age, and many remarkable personages shed lustre upon it ; but not one of them all arrests more observation, by the peculiarity and the dignity of his mien and his movements, than William Penn.

The son of an admiral, whose character was compounded of the qualities usually found in a sailor and naval commander, and who was devoted to his profession and fond of all that constitutes glory in the world's estimation, he comes before us to act a part in the world's history as opposite as possible to what could have been predicted from his parentage and education. At the age of fifteen he was entered as a gentleman-commoner at Christ Church College, in Oxford. Here an acquaintance, which ripened into a lasting friendship, was made with John Locke. At a still earlier period, when quite a child, young Penn had been the subject of a deep religious impression, and while at Oxford he was permanently and immovably established in the doctrines and principles of the Quakers, under the influence of a celebrated preacher of that sect, who, having himself at one time been connected with that University, was in the habit of visiting it for the purpose of disseminating his views. Actuated by the abhorrence of ritual ceremonies which has ever characterized his sect, he took the lead, with the zeal of a new and the rashness of a young convert, in various measures and expressions of repugnance to the religious forms of the University, and at last, reaching the extreme of fanatical intolerance,

he, with others, fell upon those students who, in obedience to royal mandates, wore their surplices in public, and tore them with violence from their persons. For this, of course, he was expelled from the University.

The disappointment and vexation of the father, at such a disgraceful termination of the son's academic career, were heightened tenfold by the discovery that his misconduct was the result of his having adopted the views and manners of the Quakers. No antipathy can be imagined more violent than the old admiral cherished to the sentiments, manners, and whole deportment of the Quakers of that period. His exasperation went to the extremity of blows, and his son was driven from his doors. But the steadfast intercession of the mother, and the cooling influence of time and reflection, led to a restoration of domestic intercourse and kind feeling. The son was too interesting in his traits and qualities to be abandoned. The pride of the father, reinforcing the returning tide of natural affection, obtained the ascendancy, and the youth, whose opening manly beauty and marked superiority of character, combining firmness with cheerfulness of disposition, could not but be noticed and admired by all, was received back to the relenting arms of the warm-hearted parent. Some time after this, he was sent over to the Continent to complete his education with the accomplishments of foreign travel and observation. It is supposed that the admiral adopted this measure with the greater readiness, in hopes that the gay seductions of the fashionable spheres of brilliant life in the European cities and courts might wean the lively spirit of the youth from the demure and self-denying manners and influences of Quakerism. The result, upon the whole, was favorable in its influence upon the feelings of the father, although no permanent or essential effect was produced upon the religious sympathies and convictions of the son. Foreign travel, and intercourse with the highest circles of society on the Continent, did not fail to make a considerable impression upon his manners and aspect. But instead of destroying or weakening his attachment to Quaker principles, they blended with them a degree of grace, courtesy, and moderation which removed a large part of what was disagreeable, and enhanced, with a most singular attractiveness, the charm of what was really good and commendable in them.

After returning to England, for a time he was a student at Lincoln's Inn, and the knowledge there acquired was undoubtedly of great subsequent benefit to him. His profession of Quaker principles, and faithful adherence to that sect in the days of its early persecution, exposed him to much peril and suffering. He was subjected to tumultuary and riotous assaults, to imprisonment and prosecution under the forms of law, and to various modes of annoyance from the public, while, from time to time, the most serious collisions took place between him and his father; although the evident sincerity and depth of his convictions, and the mingled meekness and fortitude of his demeanour, gradually won upon the feelings of the parent, so that, as he approached his dying hour, he sent a message to the king and the Duke of York, asking their favor and protection for his son, in case his religious profession should at any time bring him into difficulty; and their pledge to that effect was returned, — a pledge to which they both adhered with constant faithfulness. It is stated that on his death-bed the admiral addressed his son thus: — “William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world.” In his will, he expressed the fullest confidence and affection for his son, by leaving to him his great estate.

In the mean time William Penn had commenced his career as a preacher and author, in the dissemination of Quakerism. As a preacher he travelled extensively in his own country and on the Continent, and by his eloquence, zeal, learning, and personal accomplishments and influence, extended the sphere of his sect, and attracted to it the favorable notice of persons of the highest quality and station, as well as the humbler classes, to whose sympathies its doctrines always had a ready access. In the course of his life he became, perhaps, the most voluminous author of the denomination. His tracts and other publications were almost innumerable, and were poured forth from the fountains of a genius ever luminous with truth and warm with benevolence. No accumulation of cares, no pressure of business, no trials nor sufferings, could divest his thoughts from the watchful and faithful defence of the cause; and his printed works were designed to meet every want and remove every difficulty in the way of the principles of Quakerism, and to seize and occupy to the best

advantage every opportunity to illustrate and diffuse them. They are marked with a greater variety and freshness than might be apprehended from the circumstances of the case, are written in a pleasing and, considering the subjects, a perspicuous style, are the results of extensive learning, wide views, and benignant sentiments, and produce, the oftener we look them over and the more carefully we consider them, a continually deepening admiration of the talents and virtues of their author. While they were of great benefit to the Quakers at the time, and have reflected credit upon them ever since, they rise entirely above the sphere which that community have occupied, and entitle their writer to be numbered among those whose minds have outgrown the dimensions of their sects, and whom the whole world claim as their guides to liberty and truth.

But it is not so much by his writings as by his deeds, that he has conferred benefits upon mankind which all future ages will be glad to acknowledge. In his writings he appears as a theological disputant and a sectarian champion, and however well he acquits himself in that sphere, it is a sphere which multitudes share with him, and he is lost in a crowd. But his deeds raise him to a class to which but few individuals attain, and where all eyes can behold him. He was the founder of a state. He contributed to amend the political institutions of mankind. Society will ever feel and acknowledge, that by his single hand it was advanced greatly in its progress.

His eminent accomplishments and connections, his acquaintance with business, arising from the care and management of his own great estate, and his standing among the Friends, led to his selection as an umpire in a controversy about the proprietorship of West Jersey, the parties to which belonged to that sect. The immediate result of his agency was, not only an adjustment of the dispute, but the subsequent commitment of the management of the territory to him, as trustee, for the benefit of creditors and all concerned. While at the University, in the first opening of his youthful mind, his thoughts had been transiently turned to the colonization of America, and now that this complicated and extensive trusteeship was thrown upon his hands, the subject necessarily engaged his closest attention, and displayed itself before him in its full importance. He saw that the boundless regions of

North America, then still unoccupied by civilized man, afforded a field for the construction of society upon the foundation of those principles of absolute truth, justice, freedom, and love, which were the last results of all his meditations and reflections as a statesman and a Christian. It will ever be regarded as one of the most benignant arrangements, that such a spirit as his, so enlightened and so imbued with the purest principles, should have been provided with the means of contributing, on so large a scale, to the construction of the fabric of society in the New World.

Between the patent of West Jersey and the province of Lord Baltimore there was a vast territory unoccupied by settlers to any considerable extent, except in that portion now constituting the State of Delaware, with every most desirable element of climate, soil, and geographical position. To this his thoughts were attracted, and as he contemplated its favorable conditions, he conceived an earnest and absorbing purpose to secure it. The Duke of York on the one side, and Lord Baltimore on the other, opposed, with different degrees of effort, prior claims to more or less of the territory. But the former was induced to relinquish his rights to Penn, mainly, no doubt, through the influence of the friendship of which we have spoken, cherished by the royal brothers toward his father, and transferred to him. In the settlement of his father's estate it was found to have a large claim against the king and the Duke of York, for sums lent and services rendered them by the admiral. William Penn proposed to liquidate this claim by taking from the king a patent covering that portion of America between New Jersey and Maryland. For this consideration, and out of regard to the memory of his father, the patent was assigned to him agreeably to his wishes, and he became the proprietor of forty thousand square miles of territory in the most favored and desirable portion of the North American continent, and which, at the king's instance, and against his own modest remonstrance, was named Pennsylvania, a rare, if not the only instance in modern history of a state's bearing the name of its founder.

In entering upon the transaction of providing for the colonization, the civil and political establishment, and executive administration of a republican commonwealth, William Penn appears in the character he sustains in history. His previous

life, his education, his theological position and sectarian engagements are interesting only so far as they illustrate his preparation for his work as a lawgiver and founder of a state ; and in this point of view they are, indeed, invested with a most singular and pleasing interest. A philosophical analysis of the elements that contributed to make him what he was, at the time of the purchase of Pennsylvania, would disclose at all points an adaptation of traits and resources. The manly and hardy nature and tone of mind, inherited from his father, and nurtured by the spirit of the conversation that prevailed in the familiar society and around the fireside of the admiral, — the interest which religion, in one of its purest forms, secured in his young mind, at the very time when the highest agencies of education were expanding his faculties, thus carrying him in safety and innocence over a period of life always, but then, in the sphere in which his family moved, preëminently, exposed to licentiousness, — his theological affinities bringing him into familiarity with the best forms of humble life, while his connections carried him to the very highest pinnacles of society, and secured him the confidential friendship and closest intimacy of kings, — his wealth and rank habituating him to the exercise of influence and the assertion of authority, — his great talents and learning enabling him to sustain preëminence, and all the while the temperament of his nature, drawing still more serenity and benignity from the principles and discipline of his sect, blending with his greater and sterner qualities the most delightful humility, amiable simplicity, and cheerfulness of demeanour, — his sectarian experience teaching him, by imprisonment, fines, and constant peril of liberty, property, and life, the evil and the iniquity of religious persecution, — the essential principles of his faith, as well as his own conscious enjoyment of the elevated delights of a liberated spirit, wedding him indissolubly to the freedom of the soul, — his familiar conversance with the ruling persons in the nation, his own large pecuniary interests, and his strong good sense restraining him from carrying his ideas of liberty to fanatical excesses, imparting to his views and proceedings a tone of moderation, and rendering his example and influence promotive of order, law, and government, — in all these particulars, in the whole course of his intellectual and moral training, in all the events of his life, in all the circumstances of his position, do we not recognize a beautiful and wonderful adaptation to his work ?

The history of mankind, if carefully read, everywhere reveals a superintending Providence, but nowhere is that Providence more strikingly displayed than in the elements that combined to organize the foundations of society in British North America, in their several variety, and in their aggregate completeness. The continent had been kept back until the auspicious moment, and was then opened to the civilization which long ages had been occupied in maturing in the Old World ; and when the grand process was commenced of the establishment of political institutions on this unobstructed theatre, upon the principle of indefinite progress, the right descriptions of colonists were selected from the forms of European society, and the right men raised up to lead them.

When his patent was obtained, Penn was thirty-seven years of age, in the very bloom and fulness of his manhood. His person, although not tall, was commanding, uniting venerableness with vivacity to a degree that rendered his aspect most engaging. His manners were of a stamp that would, in every form of society and in every age of the world, equally conciliate esteem and affection. They had not only won the favor of the greatest at home, but in his travels as a preacher, notwithstanding the plainness of his garb and address, had given him immediate and welcome access to noble and regal families in the capitals of Europe. He readily entered into the sympathies of the poorest and lowliest, and in the log-house of the humblest settler, in the cabin of the backwoodsman or the wigwam of the Indian, his wealth and power were recognized only in such a manner as to heighten the confidence and ease which his kindness and good-humor imparted. It is but a few years ago that, among the aged inhabitants of Philadelphia, there were some who remembered the story of his cheerful manners and agreeable deportment, as they had heard it in their youth from original witnesses. A venerable matron, who died in 1774, at the age of a hundred years, retaining her faculties unimpaired to the last, used to relate to her young friends, some of whom have survived almost to the present time, her reminiscences of William Penn, who was present at her wedding. She said that he was very sociable, and freely gave friendly advice. She described him as of short stature, but the handsomest, best-looking, liveliest gentleman she had ever seen. There was nothing like pride about him, but he was affable and friendly to all.

This same old lady gave an interesting account of Penn's first arrival in his province. She had come to the country some time before ; and with other inhabitants, mostly Swedes, accompanied by Indians, she went to meet him. The interview took place at or near the site of Philadelphia. The Indians and whites had provided the best entertainment for him they could, and he at once endeared himself to the former by the adaptation of his deportment to their wishes and feelings. At a glance he read their nature, and saw how to reach the confidence and affection which bound the red men to him for ever. On the occasion of his first meeting with them, he walked about with them, sat down in their company on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. They were so delighted with his manners and deportment, that they danced and leaped, and he joined them even in those ruder and wilder expressions of their joy and good-will. Indeed, it need not be considered as an unnatural and affected effort for him to have participated in such a scene, for he was always noted, and not seldom censured, for exuberance of spirits, and a liability to carry gayety beyond the limits which the straitest gravity of his sect had marked out.

The patent states that it was the design of Penn to enlarge the British empire, and to civilize and Christianize the Indians, and that it was conferred out of regard to this design, and in consideration of the services of his father. It constituted Penn and his heirs perpetual proprietors, and contained the usual provisions and specifications in such instruments ; among them was one authorizing the establishment of a military force. He forthwith sent over an agent or deputy to take possession of the territory, with a letter to such persons as were already settled upon it, principally Swedes and Dutch, occupying what were called the " Three Lower Counties," or the " Territories," now constituting the State of Delaware, announcing his new relation to them as proprietor and governor. He published an account of his province, and also " certain conditions or concessions," in the form of fundamental and permanent privileges and securities guarantied by him to all adventurers and purchasers under his patent. For the further inducement and assurance of settlers, he prepared and gave out a plan of a frame of government, and a code of forty laws, to be enforced throughout the

colony. The following provisions illustrate the deep practical wisdom and the enlightened philanthropy and statesmanship which presided over the construction of these documents : — “ all children within this province, of the age of twelve years, shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want ” ; “ all prisons shall be workhouses ” ; all persons of every sect or form of Christianity to be equally entitled to the civil and political privileges of the colony ; no public tax to be levied upon the people “ but by a law for that purpose made ” ; the lands as well as the personal property of a debtor to be responsible for his debts, except in the case of his having lawful children, for whose use two thirds of his landed estate were held sacred. These features of his system show that William Penn had devoted a most thorough and mature study and consideration to the great questions and interests involved, and that he had ascended to the highest views then attained of the principles of political science.

In the practical working of his scheme of legislation and administration, difficulties were experienced, and alterations found necessary, which only prove how absolutely impossible it is for a government to be theoretically framed in the closet, to be “ made to order,” by the wisest heads, for any people. All governments are the results of usage, and the excellence of the constitutions of the States of our Union arises from the fact, that they are accurate definitions of rights which the people under them have long enjoyed, and descriptions of methods of action to which they were always accustomed. A government can no more be made beforehand for a people, than the bark for a tree. They must both grow up together. If, among all the great minds of all ages, two should be selected, who would be most likely to succeed in framing a government out of their own heads, as it were, and the selection were to be made, as of course it ought to be, with reference to a profound knowledge of human nature, its faculties, rights, and wants, a practical observation of mankind, and habits of wide and deep speculation, but always kept under the guidance of common sense and a sound judgment, we are disposed to think that the choice would fall upon John Locke and William Penn. They each concentrated the best lights of their sagacious intellects upon the construction

of a government for a community to be gathered and organized under it. The failure of Locke's scheme was complete, and is notorious. That of Penn, if its failure was not so flagrant, was, full as soon, encountered by obstacles that could not be removed, and had to be altered and remodelled from year to year.

While it need not be questioned that Penn looked upon his vast domains as a source of incalculable wealth to himself and his heirs, it is equally beyond question that he experienced the highest and purest satisfaction in indulging the assurance that his enterprise would multiply the happiness of others.

"I wanted," said he, "to afford an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation. I aimed to frame a government which might be an example. I desired to show men as free and happy as they could be. I had also kind views towards the Indians."

"As my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in governments, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

"My God, who has given it [Pennsylvania] to me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation."

"I eye the Lord in obtaining the country; and as I have so obtained, I desire I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that which may answer his kind providence and serve his truth and people, that an example may be set up to the nations! There may be room there, though not here, for such a holy experiment."

With such views, he took passage for America, and landed at Newcastle, October 27th, 1682. The scene of his landing is regarded with an interest which will never diminish. It was at the point where Chester Creek flows into the Delaware, about two hundred yards south of the creek. He was received at the hospitable mansion of Robert Wade, known as the "Essex House," near the margin of the Delaware, of the style of architecture generally adopted by those of the early American colonists whose means enabled them to do so. The building had two stories in front, but the roof

extended down so low behind as to leave but one story on that side. We notice such, as we ride through the older settlements, now ; and time-worn, dilapidated, and frequently moss-covered, as they are, it is probable that they unconsciously gratify the taste of the passing traveller more than any other style of farm-house. They have a warm, sheltered, and quiet aspect ; and the great expanse of roof, by displaying their width, gives a just conception of their commodiousness, and the liberal dimensions of the apartments. Near "Essex House" were three lofty white pines, still standing, and following the banks of the Delaware was a row of tall walnuts, some of which remain to this day. It was a beautiful spot. Indeed, the borders of that river, everywhere, revealed to the early colonists as lovely and charming a spectacle as the earth presents. The land rose with a gentle elevation from the river, was level, smooth, and covered with a verdure as rich and fragrant as can clothe the surface of nature beneath the warmth and freshness of a climate attempered by the choicest influences. Since the world began, we may safely say, there has been no condition of human life more peaceful, serene, and engaging to the beholder through the light of history, than that of the early settlers on the banks of the Delaware, particularly after Penn had become their proprietor, — in rural tranquillity and primitive simplicity of domestic manners and social relations, on a fertile soil, inhaling a healthful and balmy air, with a climate free from the extremes of heat and cold, shaded by noble trees, adorned and refreshed by rivers of beauty, the pure breezes wafting the sweetest breaths of wild flowers blooming in boundless variety, and nature, in all her forms, earth, water, air, opening her bountiful hands to supply every thing that was needed for the sustenance and enjoyment of life.

Such was the scene on which Penn landed, announcing to those already occupying it that he was the Proprietor, and that he had come to establish other settlements, in union with them, beyond their borders. Happy was the welcome they gave him ! and happy was he to behold with his own eyes the wide and rich domain, where he was to carry out the experiment of philanthropy to which his heart had become devoted !

As this existence is designed to be a season of growth and progress, it is a law enstamped everywhere throughout it,

that happiness is not to be found in the present possession, but in the prospect or the retrospect. In the actual contact of life, we find care, disappointment, and suffering ; but as the future or the past places distance between, the objects and pursuits of this temporal scene become bright and attractive to our view. Thus it was to the founder of Pennsylvania. As he looked forward to the work opening before him, it was seen through the light of a benevolent imagination and a hopeful faith. He beheld only peace, prosperity, happiness, and virtue for the people who were to call him father. But the inevitable destiny of human existence raised and multiplied along his path unexpected disappointments, conflicts, and trials. These embittered his cup of life. They forced themselves upon his notice. As a small object, if near the eye, will intercept the view of the boundless landscape, so vexatious and irritating obstructions, each trifling in itself, one after another crowded upon his attention, and prevented his enjoyment, and in a great measure his perception, of the real and substantial success of his enterprise. For in fact, he was the most successful of all who have undertaken the work of laying the foundations of a state. There was, indeed, a great deal to disturb him in the alterations and alterations to which the legislative and executive administration of his province were subjected, while they were becoming, through much confusion, adapted to its circumstances ; but at length the adjustment was completed, the frame of society was permanently established in substantial accordance with his cherished principles, his name is inscribed, and will be read while the world endures, on the broad bosom of the great State of Pennsylvania ; and if the patriarch could now look down upon this earthly scene, the retrospect of the influence he has exercised upon the happiness, liberty, and peace of mankind would probably be found to justify the most sanguine expectations, and to transcend the most glowing visions, that kindled his enthusiasm when he first landed upon the banks of the Delaware.

The frame of government, arranged before leaving England, provided that, the first year, the whole body of the freemen should assemble to participate in the administration of the province, and that, afterwards, the legislature should consist of two houses, — a council composed of seventy-two members, to be chosen by the freemen in the counties, and

an assembly to consist of two hundred, to be elected in the same manner. Upon convening the government, after his arrival, the people begged to be excused from attendance in a body, as it would be very inconvenient ; but having made choice of seventy-two delegates, twelve for each county, desired that they might be divided into two houses to answer the purpose contemplated in the "Frame," which was accordingly done, three persons having been selected from the delegation of each county to constitute the council, which thus consisted of eighteen members, the remaining fifty-four forming the assembly. The constitution was amended forthwith, to conform to the arrangement thus made, at the outset, to accommodate the people. This was the beginning of changes, which continued upon point after point, until the fabric of the government, and the methods of its operation, were made to suit the wants, wishes, and habits of the colonists. By the plan as originally arranged and at first administered, all laws were to originate in the council, and the assembly were only to approve or disapprove. This, as we may readily suppose, was an early and continually widening cause of discontent and ill-feeling ; and after much trouble and conflict, the assembly prevailed in extorting an amendment or revision of the "Frame," securing to themselves, equally with the council, the right to propose and introduce bills.

In various particulars, of which these are specimens, grounds were afforded for the formation of parties ; and they evoked, among the Quaker legislators, as aggravated and exasperated a state of the passions as they ever have done elsewhere. The strifes, and contentions, and backbitings, and animosities, which sprang up in a sphere which the benevolent proprietor had confidently hoped would be the scene only of harmony and brotherly love, filled him with sorrow and mortification, and, at times, almost despair. If, in addition to the wisdom he had drawn from the deep fountains of his own benignant soul and enlightened understanding, he had enjoyed the experience which the subsequent history of free states in America has afforded us, he would not have been so much distressed by the contests and collisions which marked the political course of his colony. In all the States of our Union, there are perpetual party agitations, which, to timid and narrow observers, seem to threaten, from

day to day, the very existence of society ; but we know that they are the necessary and salutary conditions of a vigorous state of growth and progress. Indeed, in the conduct of all human institutions, there are practical difficulties and disturbances, which ought to be expected, and endured with patience and cheerfulness. It is still the unhappiness of philanthropists, as it was his, to be disconcerted, and perhaps irritated, because events cannot be made to flow in the calm and equable course which their own Utopian ideas demand. We still have to hear the clamors of disappointed zealots and inconsiderate enthusiasts, because the world does not move on precisely along the track which their infallibility has marked out, and which, in their irreverent and all but blasphemous arrogance, they hesitate not to declare to be the only one that can save it from destruction. But a Providence, wiser than they, is conducting its own great plan towards the ends designed by its infinite benevolence. While William Penn was complaining of the unpleasant occurrences that marred the progress of his government, and at times almost sinking into despondency, and his family were abandoning the country in irritation and disgust, the province of Pennsylvania was advancing with a rapidity unparalleled before, and working out for itself, on the deep foundations of its own experience, a permanent establishment of the principles in accordance with which he had endeavoured to organize its institutions. At the time of his death, his colony numbered sixty thousand, and the city of Philadelphia fourteen thousand. His heirs continued to exercise the powers which, as its proprietor and governor, he transmitted to them, and derived from its lands and rents a handsome income, until the American Revolution transformed Pennsylvania and the other British colonies into independent states.

One prominent part of William Penn's design, in establishing his colony, was to select a site, and lay out a plan, for a "great towne." The subject occupied much of his thoughts, and engaged his fancy, taste, and ingenuity. He had frequently visited the principal cities of Europe, and had meditated upon the practicability of combining the highest advantages of them all in one great and beautiful city. He directed, by letter, before coming to the country himself, that the rivers and creeks should be sounded, and that a spot should be found high, dry, and healthy, and to which ship-

ping might have easy access. Besides these, he gave a great many other specifications, and wrote often and earnestly about it. The spot selected, now the city and county of Philadelphia, had already a few cottages upon it. The surface was so covered with underwood and trees, that persons frequently got lost in traversing it ; but when cleared, it was found fully to justify its selection. It was laid out in such a manner as to leave spaces between the houses for gardens, so that, as Penn expressed his design, it might be "a green country town, which might never be burnt, and might always be wholesome." When the arrangements were completed, Penn thus declared his satisfaction, in a letter to a friend in England :—"Philadelphia, the expectation of those concerned in this province, is at last laid out to the great content of those here. Of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better ; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town."

Penn's enterprise in colonizing so large a territory in America, and on such peculiar principles, attracted great attention in Europe, but no part of it more than the building of his beautiful city of Brotherly Love. The learned Humphrey Prideaux, in his "Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament," a work of immortal interest and value, in giving a minute description of Babylon, has a note to this effect :—"Much according to this model hath William Penn, the Quaker, laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia ; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not behind any other in the whole world." After describing quite accurately and clearly the plan of the city, he goes on to predict that it "will soon draw people enough thither, not only to finish the scheme which hath been laid of it by its first founder, but also to enlarge it, by such additions on each side, as to make its breadth answer its length ; and then, barring the walls and greatness of Babylon, it will imitate it in all things else, and in the conveniency of its situation far exceed it. But this is to be understood as a comparing of a small thing with a great. For though Philadelphia were built and inhabited to the utmost extent I have mentioned, that is, to the full extent of two miles in breadth as well as in length, yet fifty-six of such cities might stand within those walls that encompassed Babylon."

The general voice of those whose observation enables them to form a judgment concurs with that pronounced prospectively by Prideaux, merely from examining its plan, — it is, in fact, the universal opinion, — that Philadelphia is “the fairest city in all America, and not behind any other in the whole world,” in the advantages which Penn endeavoured to combine within its limits. It is a noble and beautiful monument of his wisdom and taste. On leaving the country, in 1684, for an absence for some time in England, he thus pours forth the sensibilities which bound him to the fair and lovely city, and all whose privilege it is to dwell within its precincts ought for ever to respond with grateful affection.

“And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blest of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eyes. The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace!”

At the same time, he addressed to his friends in general, throughout the colony, similar strains of strong and deep affection.

“Dear friends,” said he, “my love and my life is to you and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out nor bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord; and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over. O that you would eye him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands!”

On leaving the country for the last time, in 1701, he addressed the following valedictory message to the Assembly. Although brief, it contains more wisdom than is often to be found in longer documents, of the same official character, in our times. The contrast between its tone and that of the parting address just quoted shows the effect upon his feelings of the difficulties he had encountered in the conduct of his province, although it still breathes the same delightful

and truly Christian kindness and benevolence, which survived all injury, and were ineradicable in his nature.

“ Friends, — Your union is what I desire ; but your peace and accommodating of one another is what I must expect from you ; the reputation of it is something ; the reality much more. I desire you to remember and observe what I say. Yield in circumstances, to preserve essentials ; and being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad, now I am going to leave you ; since it is for you, as well as your friend, and proprietary, and governor,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

One fruitful source of trouble and perplexity was found in the system of annual quitrent payments, adopted by Penn at the beginning, and on which he relied for an ever swelling income for himself and his heirs. The terms of sale were, for one hundred acres of land, forty shillings purchase-money, and one shilling a year as a perpetual rent. When the fertility of the soil and the general advantages of the territory are considered, these terms, of course, will be allowed to have been liberal. No contract can be imagined more binding upon the purchaser than was the obligation assumed by those who, for so small an immediate payment, and so very light an annual tax, became proprietors of estates so eligible. But William Penn was wronged out of a large proportion of his quitrents ; and not only were his claims, so reasonable and just, resisted by the parties against whom they particularly lay, but there seemed to be a general disinclination to aid him in his efforts to recover his rights, if not an actual connivance at, and encouragement of, the injustice. It is not surprising that so palpable a fraud, thus countenanced and protected, excited his indignant resentment, and almost turned his heart against the colony.

Penn has been made an object of calumny because he demanded with importunity the payment of his quitrent claims. There is something singular, and quite worthy of a philosophical scrutiny and analysis, in the moral obscuration to which mankind are liable in reference to obligations of this nature. No form of dishonesty, of robbery, ought to be regarded with deeper and sterner public reprobation, than an attempt to retain a property, and withhold the consideration for which it was transferred. It was nothing less than infamous for men to solicit from William Penn his rich and

verdant acres, and then defraud him of what they had voluntarily stipulated to pay for them ; and yet, strange to say, not only was this done, but it was encouraged by public sentiment, and he has been grossly abused because he complained of it, and endeavoured to prevail upon those who owed to pay him. We have seen the same base iniquity practised and countenanced in our day. In some of the counties of the State of New York, there are supposed still to exist combinations of men, occupying valuable estates, and conspiring, with desperate determination, not to pay the rent, on the voluntary and deliberate pledge of which those estates were, by solemn contract, transferred to them or their ancestors. Owing to the blindness which comes over the moral judgments of men on such subjects, when there is the bias of interest, and the potent sway of the social and sympathetic principle, large numbers participate in this outrage, and still larger countenance them. A short time since, they reached the point of an armed and open organization in defiance of the law of the land, and committed the highest crime practicable in a republic, by taking the life of an officer of the law while in the appropriate discharge of his duty. The authorities of New York treated the culprits as they deserved. They were brought before the tribunals of justice, and consigned to the punishment of felons. The late governor of that State will be held in honored regard by all who love freedom and security, and know upon what foundations alone they can rest, for his firmness on the occasion. If the measures of his successor shall have the effect of reviving the spirit of Antirentism, besides the stigma thus brought upon him and his associates and advisers, the stain of blood yet to be spilt will be indelible on his hands. In no civilized community can the principle of retaining a purchase and withholding the stipulated price be tolerated ; but in a country where the people make the laws, they will hold sacred all contracts under them, and those who attempt to carry resistance of the law to the extent of violence upon the persons of its officers will be regarded as guilty of the highest treason against the state, and repressed by the sternest exercise of its primitive power. Where the institutions of a country most promote the distribution and subdivision of property, there will the rights of property be most secure. In a monarchy, the highest treason is an attack on the person

and life of the sovereign. In a republic, the people feel that their sovereignty resides in the persons of their magistrates and officers of the law, and will consider him the worst of traitors who lays violent hands upon them. Nowhere will the public sentiment, beyond the reach of immediate personal and local perverting influences, be found so healthy and so efficient as in this country ; and Antirentism, with every other form of outrage upon law and order, is sure of final reprobation and extirpation.

But while we congratulate ourselves in this assurance, it is important that we look into the sources of the malady which infected the sentiments of the Pennsylvanian colony, in its early stages, rendering an otherwise honest, fair, and well-disposed people insensible to the obligations of common justice, which has diseased the moral judgments of particular districts in the State of New York, and at other times and places has gangrened the public mind.

A searching analysis of the principles of human nature will probably disclose, as a fundamental law of the prosperity and well-being of a state, the proposition that the cultivator ought to be the owner of the soil. When a man spends his life on a particular spot, day by day moving within its inclosure, year by year adding to it, by toilsome labor, new value, and drawing from its bosom fresh and probably increasing productions, there is a constant, unconscious, inevitable process going on among his associations and affections leading him to identify himself with it. If he is, indeed, a slave, that fact will undoubtedly be kept sufficiently in his mind to prevent his ever forgetting, for a moment, that the ground he tills is another's ; but if he is a freeman, and especially if he has an imperfect right to the soil, however slight and dependent that tenure may be, he will experience a continually increasing tendency to enlarge and deepen his sense of possession. Particularly if he has received it by inheritance, — if he, his children, and perhaps his fathers, were born upon it, — if the dust of venerated ancestors, and perhaps of endeared members of his own immediate household, is mingled with it, — if not only his own labors, and the whole circle of his daily and ordinary pursuits and employments, but the entire retrospect of life, and all the domestic and ancestral affections and associations of his nature, are concentrated upon the spot, — no wonder that he

experiences such an accumulated and indissoluble sense of attachment and oneness with it, as to be distinguished, with difficulty, from the sense of ownership. The same principles that mislead him into the feeling that the land is his tend to reduce his appreciation of the title of the absentee proprietor, whom perhaps he never saw, and who may never have been within hundreds of miles of the estate. He adds nothing to its value. No memorials are seen of his agency. No evidence is given of his interest. No ties, or associations, or affections are supposed to connect him with it. The considerations that led to the original agreement diminish to the eye, and at last utterly disappear, as a widening tract of time intervenes. The mind yields to the illusions of distance, forgets the long past, cannot keep a clear vision of the remote, is unconsciously led astray by interest, and gives itself up entirely to immediate impressions and associations ; and the consequence naturally is, that the recurrence of the annual demand for tribute meets with a constantly increasing repugnance, the proprietor becomes an extortioner, the tax he levies a burden and a grievance, and if he attempts or threatens to use force, he is a tyrant and an oppressor. Feelings of alienation, of odiousness, and of resentment, if not resistance, become associated with him, and are transferred to the law and its agents, if they are employed to enforce his exactions.

This state of mind is altogether unreasonable and unjust, and must never be countenanced by a community that values its civilization ; but still, as we have endeavoured to show, it is one into which men are naturally liable to be deluded, and it therefore is incumbent upon wise statesmen and enlightened governments to guard against it, as well as to repress it. In the original settlement of a country, it will be best for the state, as well as for individuals, to have sales absolute and complete. Landholders who are large proprietors will consult their own interest as well as comfort, and save their heirs from much perplexity and wrong, to dispose of their lands at prices that can be obtained for them in fee simple. Where a just arrangement can be made, it will be for the good of all parties, as well as the public, to promote the extinguishment, by commutation, appraisalment, or otherwise, of quitrent claims, and of every clog which embarrasses the relations of men, or impairs the

full enjoyment of the fruits of labor. The condition of a tenantry, holding on the ground of a permanent tribute to absent proprietors, is ever unfavorable to the general welfare of a country. But where the farmers, the actual cultivators of the soil, hold it by an allodial title, there will a truly noble yeomanry be found. Such a population are an impregnable bulwark of public liberty, law, and order, and the smiling and teeming earth will bear witness to their ability to promote the happiness and wealth of a nation.

If William Penn had doubled the price to be paid at the outset for his lands, and omitted altogether the annual quitrent, he would have multiplied greatly the fortune of himself and heirs, and the happiness of his life would have been incalculably enhanced. So, in like manner, if the parties concerned, both private persons and the public authorities, in the State of New York, could induce a final adjustment and liquidation of the obligations and claims connected with the Antirent disturbances there, upon a just and righteous basis, it would be a happy consummation, and whoever, by his personal or official influence, might promote it, would perform a service of patriotism and philanthropy. In leaving this topic, we would venture to suggest that it will be found a wise principle of political administration, everywhere and always, to avoid, as far as possible, throwing burdens upon successors. The transactions of man with man, in his collective as well as his individual capacity, will be more satisfactory and more beneficial, if they are closed at once. Obligations protracted through a length of years, where the persons who contracted or imposed them change, are apt to be misunderstood and to breed discontent. An essential condition by which a burden is rendered tolerable is the state of mind in which it is voluntarily assumed, and that cannot be transmitted by any device of law, by any charm of legislation, by any magic that can be inscribed on parchment. The less the present attempts to bind, or relies upon, the future, the better. The more the earth, and all that it contains, is the absolute and untrammelled property of the generation that is passing over it, the happier will it be for all mankind.

The early administration of government in the colony of Pennsylvania is an instructive chapter in history, in many points of view, and especially as illustrating the impracticable-

ness of certain visionary notions still prevalent among a particular description of theorists and enthusiasts. They profess the principle of non-resistance, and not content with professing it for themselves, incur the responsibility of urging it upon the state, — declare their readiness to put the entire structure of society, all that their country has attained of liberty and happiness, to the risk of a helpless exposure to the violence and passions of mankind in their present low state of civilization, — deny the right and the necessity of all military defences, and following their premises to the conclusions inevitably flowing from them, denounce the use of force in all its forms, civil as well as military. Enjoying their own estates, pursuits, families, homes, privileges, and lives in perfect security, they anathematize the administrators of that law which spreads its daily and hourly shelter over them as no better than hangmen, and those who on the sea and the land uphold the power of the country in whose bosom they dwell as no better than murderers. They declare their own readiness, and by inflammatory declamation do all they can to instigate others to an equal readiness, to dissolve the fabric of our government, remove the external and internal securities of society, and expose their own and all other lands to the fearful issues of anarchy and lawlessness.

It would be well for such persons to study the early history of Pennsylvania. William Penn was a Quaker. He adopted the principles of that sect in their purity, and held them with as enlightened a discernment of their length, and breadth, and depth, and all their bearings, as any one ever called by that name. Under his influence, his colony became a gathering-place for persons of that persuasion. They constituted, for a long time, a vast majority of the population. The government, in all its branches and entire administration, was in their hands. It is true, indeed, that the patent granting the territory contained the usual provision authorizing the establishment of a military force ; but it is not to be questioned that it was inserted by the mere acquiescence of the grantee, and that it was his sanguine purpose and confident hope to demonstrate the practicability of conducting a state upon Quaker principles, and especially without the use of military force. Those principles, whatever conclusions they fairly involve to that effect, were not considered by him as invalidating the vigorous exercise of a restraining and retribu-

tive force and authority by the civil magistrate. His letters, while absent from the government, prove this. "Let not pity," he admonishes, "rob justice of its due, and the people of proper examples." "Rule the meek meekly, and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority." It is evident, therefore, that the experiment was fairly tried, so far as the moderation of his views is regarded. He did not involve the principle of dispensing with military force in difficulties that did not belong to it, by implicating it with any fanatical and extreme views on other points. The circumstances of his colony favored, besides, the experiment. It was exempted from danger of Indian hostility, not only by the peculiar confidence and good-will between Penn and the native tribes, but by its position. Situated centrally to the other colonies, as they extended along the coast, it was far removed from French encroachment in the direction of Canada and Acadia, and Spanish in the direction of Florida and Havana. The other frontier settlements of America looked upon the deep and unfathomed forest in their rear with awe and terror, for swift destruction often darted upon them from its dark bosom; but the Five Nations, who were the guardians of the English, either occupied themselves the wilderness behind Pennsylvania, or controlled the tribes that did. Indeed, military defences were so entirely unneeded, that, whatever might have been the views of the colonists in reference to them, a considerable period might have elapsed without their being suggested.

But in the course of time, when a large and prosperous state had arisen, then, as now, the key-stone of the communities established on the Atlantic shore, and a common danger threatened the destruction and extirpation of the whole, the mother country, and the united voice of the other provinces, called for the aid and coöperation of Pennsylvania. It is curious to witness the absurd embarrassments and ludicrous perplexities to which it was driven in endeavouring to maintain its non-resistant principles, and at the same time to meet the demands of justice, reason, and necessity. Common sense, if not common honesty, required them to contribute of their abundance to aid those who were standing between them and a power which, if not effectually resisted, would overwhelm them, and sweep from the continent every vestige of the English and the Protestant liberties, the sweets of which they had long been securely enjoying.

But their sectarian principles, the pride with which men cling to peculiar speculations, and the overawing influence of prejudices which they had cherished into fanatical blindness and obstinacy in the bosoms of their own people, prevented the Quaker legislators from cutting the Gordian knot boldly at a single blow, and sending levies of brave men to share common sacrifices and perils, in defending common privileges and blessings. A party arose, however, taking the ground that something ought to be done, and at particular emergencies it prevailed, and grants of money were made by the Assembly for the general Colonial defence. The act, in such cases, would be veiled under the thin subterfuge of its being done to clothe or compensate the Indians in alliance with the Colonial forces, or, in some other disguised form, it would help on the common cause. Such indirection and equivocation, of course, had too much of hypocrisy and cunning in it to satisfy any honorable minds, while the procedure shocked the thorough and bigoted party among the Quakers, and offered a handle to all evil-disposed persons to stir up strife and bitterness in the bosom of the community. At the same time, in other lesser matters connected with the government, in order to carry on the administration of the laws, and enforce the public authority, it was necessary to bend, more or less, if not occasionally to break, the strict formulas and rigid notions of Quakerism. This always gave rise to reproaches and ill-blood, and heightened the confusion to which society was tending. The proceedings of the courts, moreover, were interrupted by wranglings in reference to the imposition and nature of oaths, and inextricable embarrassments occurred in business transactions, in custom-house operations, as well as in juries, from vain attempts to effect a compromise between the principles of Quakerism and acts of Parliament and forms of law.

The following passages from letters written by prominent persons among them illustrate the state of things. Isaac Norris says, — “We have no courts, no justice administered, and every man does what is right in his own eyes.” James Logan expresses himself in similar terms : — “The public grows rampant, and wickedness is bold and open. A mobbish spirit is encouraged.” “The clamors and abuses from such men to the Friends in government tire them, and make them weary of the load. When the queen asks for our quota for Canada, Friends know not how to act, or how

to refuse." Norris, in another place, observes : — " The holding of a place in government is extremely difficult to Friends, and we can hardly judge which has the worst prospect, whether to hold it under such difficulties as daily fall in the way, or to resign it to some men of no honorable principles. Some Friends are still in places and offices that cannot be exercised without great difficulties, and sometimes full stops. To me it seems impracticable to do any thing that will please and hold." " I get into a labyrinth, when I turn my thoughts that way."

At last, they could endure their perplexities no longer, they acknowledged that government was a burden they could not bear, threw it down in despair, and not only confessed the unfitness of their principles for the performance of its functions, and that they were heartily glad to have got rid of it, but it has been looked upon by them as a lasting reproach, that they ever allowed themselves to meddle with it at all.

" From the moment we Friends," say they, " began to lose sight of our original institution, we erred greatly ; for when we saw so much corruption interwoven in the affairs of this world, we were unfit to be concerned in them, and should have rested satisfied in a dependence on the arm of the Lord, and what protection the laws of our country would have given us. But we must needs have that power in our own hands ; and having so exceeded their native moderation and self-command, they knew no bounds, — they grasped at more, by which means the life of our old and respected friend and governor, William Penn, was made a life of trouble. Let us return to our original plan, and leave the concerns of this world entirely to the men of this world."

In taking our leave of William Penn, we feel constrained, in justice and in honor to him, to say that his extensive reading, his well-balanced mind, and his large experience enabled him to avoid the fanatical extremes to which many rushed, in his day as in ours, following the " inner light " or the voice of " inspiration," as they call their own crude notions and dogmas. He was a steadfast and enlightened defender of law and order ; he recognized the allegiance which the citizen owes the state, and the truly sacred authority with which the legal and constitutional acts of the government are clothed. He maintained with great clearness the obligation to obedience on the part of the people, particularly in a free state, " where the laws rule, and the people are a party to these laws."